THE

TIMES:

ADDRESSED TO THE

VIRTUOUS and SPIRITED

FREEMEN

OF

IRELAND.

DEDICATED TO THE

MOST DISINTERESTED PATRIOT.

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☞ THIS pamphlet was written ſome time before the two great queſtions of the Declaratory Act, and Poynings' Law were decided on, and from ſome unfortunate circumſtances were delayed in the publication; but as they were both rejected for this time, and moſt certainly will be brought on next ſeſſion, the author, on the preſſing ſolicitations of his friends, has been prevailed on to offer them to the public, from a hope of their being of *future benefit*.

TO THE

MOST DISINTERESTED

PATRIOT,

SIR!

TO whom can the diſintereſted labour of an independent man, for the good of his country, be more properly dedicated than to a man, who has ever been remarkable for *independence* in his *actions*, *diſintereſtedneſs* in his *conduct*, *nobleneſs* in *ſentiment*, *elevation* of *mind*, and *uncommon warmth of affection* for his country? *Principles* carried ſo high in you, ſir, as, in a leſſer degree to have done honour to *ancient Romans*.

The

DEDICATION.

The love of your country, in you, ſir, is not a ſimple inſtinct of nature: ſentiment has heightened its ardour! In your private connections, you have preſerved the *aſſerted* dignity of human nature, and have carried it to a point rarely to be found but in the writings of men bleſſed with a good head, little knowledge of mankind, and a noble heart.

I chooſe you, ſir, as a man beloved by every individual, adored by *one* party, and revered and reſpected by their opponents. My *choice* is confirmed by my *reaſon*; and my *praiſe* is ſtrengthened and ſanctified by the *generous approbation* of a *grateful people!*

Sir, as you love to praiſe, but *diſlike* being *praiſed*, I ſhall beg leave neither to prefix your name to this, nor affix my own.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
With the higheſt reſpect and eſteem,
Your admirer and friend,
The AUTHOR.

TO THE

VIRTUOUS AND SPIRITED FREEMEN OF IRELAND.

LET the weak in body and mind grow faint under the bare apprehenſions of a ſtruggle for liberty! Let thoſe who have been nurſed in the lap of indolence, and bred in the ſchool of luxury, who have been enervated under a long courſe of ſenſual pleaſures and phyſical conſequences, let them arm themſelves in all the female paraphernalia of ſighs, and tears, and entreaties; let them aſcend the pulpit of *paſſive obedience*, and preach *patience* to the *people!* *Patience* was a virtue that with our anceſtors was turned into a curſe! They ſinned againſt us. Let *us* not commit crimes, for which our poſterity will be puniſhed. For, though death may efface the ill effect of our example, yet the conſequences of our ſins will remain. Oh! almighty

almighty and merciful God! let not the ſun of liberty, which darts its genial and all-powerful rays upon us, be overcaſt by the dark incantations of *miniſterial demons*! who, although no *conjurers*, are certainly endowed with dangerous and baneful powers. Deſpair not, O! countrymen, we ſhall yet gain our cauſe, ſpite of thoſe who meditate *future miſchief*, and pride themſelves on *paſt iniquities!* at preſent, humanity in this kingdom ſeems raiſed above itſelf, and we enjoy ſenſations of which, ſome years ago, we could not even form an idea; ſo little were we acquainted with them.

There muſt be ſomething in the nature of a nation fitting them for the reception of *liberty*, as well as any other bleſſing; elſe, though they may poſſeſs it, yet they may not enjoy it. 'Twas the want of this made the Cappadocians refuſe liberty. We ſeem to have this antecedent preparatory principle more ſtrongly implanted in us for the reception of gain by commerce, than of liberty by freedom of the *conſtitution*. And, though we have been complimented with the former, we can perceive no viſible inclination to gratify us with the latter. So that, our commercial freedom, and our *conſtitutional* one, like the two famous lines in mathematics, though they may be ſuffered to approach *ad infinitum*, will never find a poſſibility of coming

coming in contact. Therefore, ſince the benevolence and generoſity of our ſiſter kingdom ſeems to be either exhauſted, or at a ſtand, it is proper we ſhould do ſomething to endeavour to ſupport ourſelves. The preſent ſtate of Europe, and our immediate ſituation afford the faireſt and beſt opportunity ever offered by time for the *completion* of our *liberty*, and the *re-aſſumption* of our *rights*. By an *ungenerous* advantage taken of an unfortunate conjunction of circumſtances, we loſt them: by a fortunate and favourable concurrence of accidents we *now* may re-aſſume them with propriety and juſtice. If we neglect the preſent moment, perhaps ſuch another lies not in the womb of time. It would be ſtrange that, as the powers for aſſerting and ſupporting our *rights* grow great and ſtrong, all our concern for them ſhould diminiſh. And, that we ſhould act like the debilitated debauchée, who as the gratification of his wiſhes ſeems to approach enjoyment, his deſires really diſappear. If we aſſert not our raviſhed rights, we want not only *virtue* but we want *ſpirit!* moderation, in this caſe, is nothing better than puſillanimity; and the affected love of peace and order, but a real attention to perſonal ſafety and property. Thus apathy aſſumes the hereditary honours of philoſophy, though it is but the baſtard of ſloth! it ſhall be my peculiar care that the generous ſim-

plicity of the people be not abuſed and betrayed by the falſehood and flattery of the court. The love of one's country is the principle and ſource of every attachment, the great inſtinct and chief band of ſociety; and he who is deſtitute of this, cannot be bound by any of the leſſer and weaker ties! For, how is it poſſible for a man to love any one perſon properly, who is totally indifferent to the affection or hatred of two million?

It is aſtoniſhing to imagination how the ſpark of liberty has been preſerved, after all the engines of power have for ſo many ages been playing on it; after every ſpring of ſelfiſh ambition, and every ſtream of corruption, that ever deluged the human heart, having been turned on it. Under ſuch circumſtances, one ſhould imagine, nothing leſs than the interpoſition of the *divinity* could have preſerved it. An interpoſition, not unworthy an all-mercifu and juſt God! and at leaſt, in favour of as proper objects as the noble race of *ancient Jews.*

But what will all Europe think of a nation, which the more difficulties it met in the completion of its happineſs, exerted the more obſtinate zeal in the purſuits of its purports; but languiſhes into indolence the moment thoſe obſtacles ſeem to give way:

way: and, the union and affection which ſeemed to be nouriſhed in the *boſom* of *adverſity*, *dies* in its *maturity* in the *arms* of *proſperity!* Now we have acquired the power, it would really be ſhameful to loſe the inclination to ſerve our country.

I hope that *public ſpirit* will break out, once more, in one mighty flame, and abſorb all thoſe petty partial fires which begin to kindle anew, and which the *enemies* of our *country* endeavour to keep alive by fanning. Thoſe whom Ireland did not hear of in the days of her diſtreſs, let her not liſten to them in the hour of her proſperity.

If we be not deceived by the falſe zeal of our *former friends*, we muſt now ſucceed as heretofore. If we do not, it will not be from the weakneſs of our cauſe, but from having been betrayed by their ſelfiſhneſs and treachery; againſt which, where is the guard for man? For what is the outward ſymptom, which indicates a ſecret cancer in the heart? any man may do a caſual act of kindneſs to his country, either from ſelf-intereſt, from pique, or from party principles. It is the continuance of them, which alone will prove unequivocally the greatneſs of the mind, or the goodneſs of the heart. What a ſuperior pleaſure is there to a great and noble mind in the affection and

attachment to a community, than in the partial love of one's ſelf! The modern paſſion of *patriotiſm* ſeems to be in general, but an inordinate *appetite* for *riches* and *honours:* and when this appetite, like all others, is ſated, the *paſſion*, during *that* time, ceaſes. Could I but excite the ſhame of thoſe mock patriots, I ſhould not deſpair, in time, to rouſe their virtue.

Poynings' law, in regard to the *privy council*, and the *Engliſh declaratory act* muſt be conſidered as *breaches* in our *conſtitution:* and very enormous ones indeed! through which our *liberties* can at any time be invaded. To *argue* upon the probability, or the improbability, (as ſome people do,) of an attack, whilſt theſe breaches be open, muſt be either folly, or guilt. The poſſibility ſhould be ſufficient to awaken the attention of every man of ſpirit, and every lover of his *country*. It is not enough that in the ſcale of *probability*, our liberties ſhould not be in immediate danger; and, that the *black legs* of adminiſtration ſhould ſhew us, how much the doctrine of chances is in our favour; our *liberties* ſhould not only be at preſent inviolate, but they ſhould be ſecure from all *future violations!* Let us, therefore, O! my countrymen! repair thoſe *breaches!* and if we are neceſſitated ſo to do, let us, as the Jews rebuilt their temple,

temple, quietly and peaceably carry on the work with one hand, and hold our ſwords for its defence in the other. It is a duty we owe poſterity! a work which our forefathers ſhould have performed, but ſcandalouſly neglected; by which, they forfeited our eſteem, and have incured our contempt! let us not, therefore, follow their example, but pluck up the ſeeds of all future diſſenſions, and not leave them to ripen for the ſwords of our children to mow! Here lie the wounds, and tender as they are, I muſt open, probe, and dreſs them! I muſt cleanſe them, though I give pain; or their foulneſs may produce mortification. It is a painful, and unthankful office, though a *friendly* one!

If the privy council be a good and uſeful inſtitution, why has it not been adopted in England? if it be proved to be improper, unjuſt, or uſeleſs; to be a fourth eſtate, with greater and more dangerous powers, than two of the other three poſſeſs; an eſtate under the immediate influence of the *crown*; its members elected by the crown, and holding their places at the will or caprice of the miniſter; an eſtate, which ſilently overturns and deſtroys in one moment the works of an age of patriotiſm, ariſing perhaps from the joint labours of two branches of our legiſlature; an eſtate ever remarkable for being compoſed of penſioners, dependants

pendants *on*, and creatures *of* the court; an *hoſpital* for changelings and expectants! if all theſe be acknowledged by *principled* and *unbiaſed* men, why ſhould we be curſed with its baneful influence? what crimes have we committed againſt our God, to merit ſo ſevere a chaſtiſement? if our forefathers have ſinned, we their unhappy children have borne this chaſtiſement, yea, even to the third and fourth generations; and we claim the *promiſe* of the *lord* for an exemption from our *miſery!*

Our having ſubmitted to theſe acts with quiet and peaceable demeanour, is now urged as an argument againſt our right to relief. Is this juſt? Is this generous? Many people ſubmit to *evil* from neceſſity; but any act to deſtroy that evil, they embrace as an elegible good. What we aſk for, though it is a limitation of uſurped and unjuſt powers, aſſumed contrary to the rules of right and reaſon, yet neither tends to abridge, weaken, or endanger the powers of the crown. There needs but the *privy council* to render all the efforts and powers of our two houſes *nugatory* and ſomewhat *ridiculous*: and that, without the *oſtenſible* interference of majeſty, or miniſter. So that, the current of affection, which ſhould flow reciprocally between a *king* and his *people*, is here intercepted

intercepted and cut off by an uſeleſs, though deſtructive chaſm in the conſtitution: the like of which was never in any other government, from the begining of the world to this day. And, I hope in God! that our's may never ſerve a ſa precedent, unleſs there ſhould a people hereafter be found, ſo unfortunate, as to have merited the higheſt diſpleaſure of the Almighty.

I look on the reſtrictions taken from our *condemned* and *expiring commerce* as a *reprieve*, which our *lords* the *Britiſh parliament*, in the plenitude of their *mercy* and *power*, have thought fit to beſtow on the exigencies of the times. How long it may laſt, no one can ſay. The lords give, and the lords may take away! And ſhall we ſit down and ſay "*their names be praiſed for ever!*" as we now ſtand, we may become *neceſſitous taſk-men* in the midſt of *plenty*; and our political ſlavery encreaſe in a quadruplicate ratio with our commercial riches.

The *declaratory act* is the fountain from whence the bitter waters of *diſtruſt* and *diſcontent* flow to the people of this kingdom. To relieve us, it muſt be cut off at it's ſpring. For it is in vain to argue, if people imagine themſelves miſerable, they are ſo, or happineſs is not ſeated in opinion.

I wiſh

I wiſh to provide for *future* ſafety by deſtroying the powers of overbearing inſolence, and the virulence of envy; and reſtraining cruelty by *impotence*. As the peace of mind and happineſs of men have been poiſoned by the malevolent virulence of the *Engliſh declaratory act*, I ſhould wiſh a *declaratory act* from our parliament, which I am conſcious would have all the ſalutary effects of an wholeſome *antidote*; making the minds of Iriſh men ſound, as their hearts and bodies. It is the part of *juſt* and *virtuous* repreſentatives to *proteſt* againſt what they have not the power to *deſtroy*; and to claim on every occaſion, their title to *rights*, of which, the hand of *power* hath *robbed* them; though they ſhould not have the ſtrength neceſſary to repoſſeſs themſelves. For, perhaps, they may have in future, the length of quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion pleaded againſt them; though, I think, even in that caſe, the *majeſty* of the *people* better intitled for *their rights* to the nullum tempus bill, than any *ſovereign* in *Europe*. Points of honour are in general more tenaciouſly kept, and more obſtinately adhered to than rules of honeſty and juſtiee. I, therefore, think, every thing maturely conſidered in the eye of judgment, and duly weighed in the ſcales of reaſon, that, a *declaratory act of our own houſes* is much more proper, than raſhly to inſiſt on making them retract their aſſertions;

tions; a thing very difficult to make an individual perform. *Our act* will certainly be *equivalent* to *theirs*; and equally weighty and efficacious. To bring this to the level of every man's underſtanding, ſuppoſe any gentleman were raſh and fooliſh enough to ſay, he had a *right* to call on me when he pleaſed for ten thouſand pounds, which I *muſt* pay him; and, that I as publickly aſſerted, I owed him not a ſhilling, nor ever would pay him one. Would not any rational man think I had acted ſufficiently proper; and that to go any further in it, would betray more turbulence of diſpoſition, than ſhew propriety of conduct? A *declaratory act* of our *own* will be our palladium, and ſtand as our *tutelary deity* to protect us in our liberties! The court party are ever exclaiming, "why all theſe "demands, theſe wiſhes, theſe deſires *now*, which "were never made before?" To this I ſhall anſwer; Ireland, from repeated diſorders, occaſioned but too often by hard uſage, was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs, as to be near a *political death*; being in this ſtate, deſtitute of ſtrength, ſhe expreſſed no wiſhes, and ſhe felt no deſires.

Theſe are the two great political bleſſings we have to ſtruggle for. If all claim to patriotiſm and public affection be renounced on this trial, I

hope there will never be a precedent for reſorting to *thoſe* men upon a ſecond occaſion *! Miniſterialiſts inſiſt that, England will never attempt to do, what ſhe has ſo long and ſo often done before, that is bind us by any of her laws. All I ſhall ſay to this, beſides what I have already ſaid, that if it be true "Le vrai peut quelque fois n'être "pas vraiſemblable." They ſay, "they *believe* "that England will never reaſſume thoſe *rights* "of *ours*, which ſhe has beſtowed as *gifts*." If they ſpeak truth, I am apt to think the majority of them believe it like ſome devotées, "from a "want of courage to diſbelieve." For certainly, the diſbelief muſt be a painful idea: ſo that, their faith is planted in weakneſs of mind, and reared in puſillanimity. I own, I am with the *voice* of the *people* againſt voluntarily placing ſuch an improper confidence in the Britiſh legiſlature. For, in ſo doing, do we not inveſt them with the power to abuſe *it*? The Engliſh have ever preſerved the tree of liberty in their *own* ſoil: yet, like the Dutch, with regard to ſpices, have they ever been remarkable for wiſhing to deſtroy the ſmalleſt plant in every other kingdom. In *our's* they found

* *As it has been renounced, it remains only with the conſtituents whether thoſe ſame men are to be reſorted to on a ſecond occaſion.*

it,

it, on their arrival, healthy, vigorous, well and firmly rooted. Though they did not ſet about plucking it up by the roots, yet have they ever been *pruning* and *lopping*, 'till they left us but the miſerable ſapleſs trunk. No ramification, no foliage to be ſeen! as it loſt its beauty, it ſeemed to loſe its *repute!* Fortunately the axe of power had not found its way to the *root*: this remained ſound and untouched.——The miſeries of the people *brought tears* which watered the ſoil. Straight it quickened and ſhewed ſigns of life! Thoſe ſymptoms of returning life ſhot rays of joy into the minds of men! Quick, they aſſemble, and around it dance in *martial meaſure! ſelf-armed, ſelf aſſociated*, they throng: a glorious band! ready to pour forth *their blood*, if blood be *neceſſary* to preſerve *it's life!*——The generous nation catch the flame! and like a meteor in the heavens, all bodies are illumed; and half the world ſtand loſt in tranſports of amaze and joy!——In one general voice they cry, "*Let us die the* LAST *of* "*Iriſhmen, ſooner than live the* FIRST *of Britiſh* "*ſlaves.*"

Here let me pauſe, and mingle my tears with thoſe of my countrymen: but mine are now tears of joy. May the prayers of an ambitionleſs, diſintereſted man be heard, when he ſays, may the

diſorders which our *conſtitution* has laboured under ſo long, in the end act as remedies; by driving out all acrid, corrupt, and vitiated humours, and may it then riſe refreſhed and invigorated with a new habit of body! Where the conſtitution is internally ſound, a few wounds may with care be ſoon healed. Let England beware how *ſhe tramples* with *inſult* on the *feelings* and *rights* of a *brave, ſenſible* and *ſpirited people.* Let her reflect that, even with inert matter, it is one of the principles of nature, that *action* ſhall be followed by *re-action!* And let her alſo be informed that, ſuch a ſpark of fire has been ſometimes ſtruck out by a colliſion of *tyranny* from the one ſide, and *miſery* on the other, as has ſet a whole kingdom in a blaze, which it has taken *rivers* of *blood* to *quench!*

The building our happineſs and content on our commercial benefits, which we owe and hold by the precarious tenure of Engliſh liberality, expecting a future foundation in our conſtitutional liberty, is like the Laputan projector's ſcheme for building houſes, like the ſpider, by beginning with the roof, and ſo going downwards.

Subjection does not ſo immediately conſiſt in the nature of the orders given, as it does in the power

power on one ſide to give, and the *unconstradicted* neceſſity on the other to receive. For, otherwiſe, a ſlave would be no ſlave if he received no ſtripes, nor hard uſage: though the rod ſhould hang over him, like the ſword of Damocles to remind him of his fate. If theſe aſſumed, or rather *uſurped powers* of the Britiſh ſenate be not intended for uſe, why leave them the objects of diſtruſt and terror? Were it not better to be united by the ſoft bands of mutual confidence and affection, than to be bound in bonds of intereſt and ſubjection, where every moment we find interwoven jealouſy, diſtruſt, diſcontent and terror, and men on all ſides *armed*, and ever ready to defend or cut this gordian knot, as it ſhall beſt ſuit their power or intereſt? Why ſhould the full *enjoyment* of *liberty* in *Ireland*, any more than in *England*, be incompatible with the *rights* of *government*? *Legal liberty* ſhould be ſupported by a good government; for thoſe who enjoy liberty will always ſupport that government. Junius ſays, "It is as dangerous to national honour to depart in the minuteſt "articles from the nicety and ſtrictneſs of punctilio, as it is to female virtue." Our honour, our ſafety, our every thing demands that we ſhould have our rights ſettled and eſtabliſhed. Suſpence and doubt is the ſtate moſt diſagreeable to a feeling mind. If we are to forego our

rights,

rights, or ſuſtain a civil war, though the alternatives be dreadfully bitter and diſagreeable, where is the *virtuous* or *brave man* who will heſitate one moment in his choice? If we fall, let our ſons record our fate upon our ſepulchres, and our misfortunes will ſerve as *trophies* to our honour! at leaſt, let us not be within one degree of the *Cappadocians*, let us think *liberty* worthy of being *ſolicited* for, though they did not think it worthy of their acceptance.

Ireland glories in the oppoſition of her *enemies!* 'Tis the *defection* of her *friends* alone can wound her; a defection in the moment of her reliance on them, and in the hour of her diſtreſs! 'Tis this which will make the wound to feſter! 'Tis the poiſon of the circumſtances which will render it mortal! Let us remember that, no enemy is half ſo dangerous as a *falſe friend.* Will not the *private* admonitions of conſcience, nor the *public* reproaches of a juſt and generous people, form a puniſhment ſufficient to deter any man, even of the moſt obtuſe feelings, from the deſertion of *avowed* and public principles, and the betraying of the cauſe of his country? What riches can recompence the loſs of fame? What honours atone for public diſgrace? What private favour can counterbalance the avowed hatred of a brave people?

The

The character of a man's family may be ſoiled by his public acts, as much as his own may be deſtroyed by his private ones. The former is a truſt handed down to him, which he cannot violate without inſulting the manes of his anceſtors, and baſely injuring the rights of his innocent poſterity. Though a man may paſs through the pleaſures of life without *virtue*, yet will he not paſs through the pangs of death without repentance. There is an inward ſecret ſenſe of ſhame generally connected with mean and baſe actions, which few people are ever capable of totally conquering.

To vote for one's country in one month, and againſt it in the next, is a ſpecies of ſuch ſhameful inconſiſtency, as muſt be diſgraceful to almoſt the vileſt of characters. Great will be the ſubtlety made uſe of to varniſh over and conceal this conduct, which I hope will not eſcape, where it is the intereſt of ſo many to detect and expoſe. He who is capable, for hire, or even any other *leſs* diſhonorable motive, to betray and forſake his country, is capable of the like conduct to his friend. For, if he have a friend, is he not a part of the aggregate body betrayed? And where a man in his public capacity, and in the face of mankind, is capable of getting the better of his feelings and ſenſe of ſhame, and *betraying* the *truſt* his conſtituents

ments have depoſited with him, what is there capable of binding him in his private tranſactions? Theſe apoſtates will ſtrive to ſanctify their perfidy by juſtifying their breach of the *public faith* repoſed in them, and which they virtually accepted of. They will ſtrenuouſly endeavour to confuſe our ſacred bounds of public rights and wrongs, with the wiſh to make mankind believe that, *evil* hath changed ſides with good, and vice with virtue. Thoſe men, though they have voluntarily plunged into an *abyſs* of *infamy*, yet, like the ſelf-murderer, when drowning, the unconquerable feelings of nature make them catch even at a ſtraw. Every weak and flimſy argument they endeavour to reſt upon, and only as they ſink, they quit. The time is now come, and we ſhall diſcern if thoſe who ſtood forth the oſtenſible champions of the people, will from a childiſh impotency of mind fall *victims* to the diſtempered deſire of vain and worthleſs honours. If they do, may thoſe honours only ſerve to *decorate* their *bearſes*, and *embalm* their *guilt*! If ſhame has not been totally eradicated from the minds of thoſe who ſhall betray their country, the infamy attending it will not be the moſt mild and lenient of puniſhments.

An *open violation* of the *duties* a man owes his *country*, ſhould lead one to ſuppoſe, a *ſecret renunciation*.

renunciation of all virtue. To reſiſt the principles of education, which we ſuppoſe to be always virtuous; to be inſenſible to honour, yet meanly covetous of honours; and to refuſe to be ruled by maxims, which we know do, or ought to govern other men, ſhould clearly prove the man neither to dread the contempt of mankind, nor value their opinion or eſteem. Some of our great men would lull us into a calm and torpid ſecurity; in order that, like ſtagnant waters, we may be the more liable to corruption. The man who betrays his country at this period, let his future aſſeverations be what they will, ſhould not be entitled to credibility, nor receive confidence. No man can be guilty of it, without having aſcended to the zenith of gratitude. *Ingratum ſi dixeris, omnia dicis!* A breach of promiſes, friendſhip, or truſt, ſhould render *any man* unworthy of all future confidence and credit.

Nor ſhould the aſſumed affection for their country ſerve as an *excuſe* for their *faults*, to whoſe virtues it never ſerved as an incentive. There is a certain mode of argument, which often has a very different effect from what was intended; it ſeems rather to confirm the ſuſpicions of the public, than deſtroy the accuſations of a party. *Nemo repente fit turpiſſimus!*—What Rochefoucault ſays,

is but too true, " We ſhould often, ſays he, be " aſhamed of our beſt actions, if the world ſaw " *all* their motives." Some men ſhew a ſuperfluous anxiety about the inſtructions to members, and the introduction of certain queſtions before the houſe. This may be, perhaps, with a view to ſhun ſuſpicion, which may lead to a diſagreeable and premature diſcovery.

Some of our great men have really been *canonized*, *ſainted*, *fetêd* and *nichêd*. It is not an uncommon thing in pagan countries to ſee the ſame *image*, which whilſt ſpotleſs was ſet up as a divinity, on becoming ſoiled and contaminated, *denichêd*, *unſhrined*, caſt down, and repreſenting the character of a *devil*. This is what I hope we ſhall never behold in this chriſtian country! Even in real life, it is not an uncommon thing to ſee a man, who has been *thoroughly* corrupted, return from a dawn of virtue, to his former dark ſhades of vice. Theſe different modes of conduct, of which I have heretofore taken notice, all tend to one general purport; that of eſtabliſhing the yoke of foreign legiſlation on the necks of our countrymen. Such conduct requires no warmth of fancy, no choice of words, no powers of logic to aggravate! To deſpiſe and abhor it, it is but neceſſary to ſtrip it of its borrowed dreſs, and expoſe

it

it *naked*, in all its natural crookedneſs and deformity! Such men embrace their country and her intereſts, like the aſſaſſin; and whilſt they have her in their arms, diſarming defence by outward ſhew of dutiful affection, *prepare* to *ſtab!* If a man pledges himſelf to the people, and binds himſelf to his country, nothing but the ſword of injuſtice can cut that gordian knot; however his intereſt or ambition may find themſelves cramped, or galled by the *inconſiderate tie.* And, though it may hereafter be proved that, we have exalted ſome wooden images, in the fervour of our zeal, yet no *court gilding* ſhall make us worſhip them! Thoſe *tools* of the people will perhaps find that, it is almoſt impoſſible for the great affection and confidence of a nation to begin to fall, and in its fall to ſtop at the medium of indifference; no, they will find it never reſt but on a firm and laſting foundation of contempt and hatred! What a tranſition muſt thoſe men feel, if they have any ſuch ſenſations, from being the *choſen commanders* of *armed* and *virtuous* freemen, becoming the corrupted *ſlaves* of the *government galley*; united in their vices, and by their chains; ever neceſſitated, at the ſound of their taſk-maſter's whiſtle, to tug at the oar, in order to *ſtem* the *current* of *liberty!* And, the only difference I can ſee in thoſe and French felons is, that the latter are

made to labour *for* their *country*, whoſe happineſs they had endeavoured to interrupt; whilſt the former work againſt it. Whether they be bound with *chains*, or ribands, the effect is the ſame.

There are ſome men equally incapable from conſtitution, as well as education and cuſtom, to be fixed and true to any principle or conduct. Men of ſuch weak and childiſh minds, that, not having received from nature any real noble endowments to claim the applauſe of mankind, are apt to catch at factitious, imaginary honours, in order to fix the eye of vanity, and attract the admiration of the mob. Such men are equally the objects of my pity, whether they wear the *ſilken garter*, or the *hempen halter!* The principle of vanity may ſometimes excite and ſupport virtue in a good cauſe; but from a wrong bias, has often deſtroyed peace of mind, and diſgraced a character high in public eſtimation. There is a baſtard ſpecies of admiration, which is courted by *vanity*, indulged by cunning, gratified by flattery, and deſpiſed by wiſdom. Being the *outward* and *viſible ſigns* of *inward folly* and *vice*. Pride and vanity in ſome caſes may deſtroy their own ends. For, let certain men attain what titles or trappings they may, inſtead of acquiring the *eſteem*, *reverence*, or *admiration* of the *public*, they will only attract their

pity,

pity, or *contempt*; and, at *beſt* ſerve as *buoys*, ſilently inſtructing the careleſs and unwary to beware too near approach or connection! If a man have a beaſt uncommonly vicious, he ſets a mark upon him, for the benefit of ſociety, and receives the public's thanks. If his majeſty doth as much, ſhould he not be entitled to the ſame! Whether it be the hempen cord on the fetlock of the beaſt, or the ſilken riband on the breaſt of the man, let us equally beware!

It is a remark that, modern patriotiſm is ſeldom ſtationary, but like the ſun, is either advancing to its meridian, or declining gradually, 'till it ſinks into obſcurity. Whether this be true, I leave to be determined by facts.

Should *certain great characters* deſert the cauſe of their country, their *conduct* would be, according to Mr. Burke, *great* and *ſublime* in its effects. For, it would "cauſe aſtoniſhment of the ſoul, in "which all its motions would be ſuſpended with "ſome degree of horror:" but, alas! we ſhould never be able to trace the inferior effects, "admi-"ration, reverence and reſpect." Should they commit any crime againſt our *infant ſtate*, the conſpicuous ſituation to which they are now brought, and the ſtrong light in which they are placed,

placed, ſtanding on a lofty pedeſtal of public favour, will have every effect of a *pillory*. Though they were to retire loaded with *riches* and *titles*, yet they would find annexed to them, the reproaches of all good men: and midſt the dear-bought pleaſures and luxuries of their lives, they would ever ſuffer from the internal conviction of their own baſeneſs and treachery.

For tho' the *villain* 'ſcape a while, he feels,
Slow vengeance, like a *blood-hound* at his heels.

And any poſterior recantation, would be conſidered more as the effect of policy, than of ſincere repentance. Many of thoſe gentlemen's admirers are enraged at the people's daring to ſuſpect. Yet, to endure open and public charges, diſhonourable in their nature, without being moved ſo far as, even to *deign* to contradict them to a man's own friends, will be judged by men of *nice feelings* to approach very near to deſerving them. Charges ſo humiliating, that one would be led to imagine, thoſe *only* who were conſcious of having merited them, could poſſibly receive in all the apathy of dejected ſilence.

It is well known, how anxious government is to detach thoſe men from the ſervice of their country,

try, and from the affectionate admiration of the people. *Suppoſe* they were to ſucceed, and a defection of the head and a few chiefs of the patriotic band, with their adherents, were to be the immediate conſequence. Let us not be diſmayed! the whole will amount to, at moſt, about twelve or fourteen*. Let thoſe be added to the ever memorable *forty ſeven*, who made that *famous* ſtand in defence of foreign power againſt the *invaſion* of *popular liberty* and *happineſs*, and who contrary to the fate of Leonidas and Band, inſtead of falling from their defeat, will riſe the higher! Let them be added, I ſay, and we will yet be found as *great* from conſequence of numbers, as from *principle*. If a defection ſhould really be the caſe, they will endeavour to impoſe upon the world, until they impoſe perhaps upon themſelves; and will embrace opinions from *contradiction*, as others embrace them from *principle*. *Then* " the *depreſ-*
" *ſion* of *liberty*" they will call, " the *ſubjection* of
" *licentiouſneſs*;" and, " the *exaltation* of *foreign*

* *This would really have been the caſe had only thoſe deſerted of whom I ſpeak; but the prevalence of* great *example, the corruption of individuals, aſſailed by the preſſing activity of a* F——r, *worked miracles which no man could foreſee or have an idea of.*

" *juriſdiction*,"

"*juriſdiction*," "the *ſupport* of *government*," or perhaps "the *conſtitution*" Blending into confuſion virtues and their oppoſed vices. Thus paſſing off the effects of natural depravity, or acquired corruption, as, *prudential patriotic principles*; or, any other virtues, into which court ſophiſtry can miſconſtrue them. Take notice, that what I have ſaid, is barely for argument, and built on *ſuppoſition only**. For, from what little I know of them, I really hold them incapable of ſuch conduct! I will *indulge* myſelf in the belief of their firmneſs and integrity; the idea is ſo pleaſing to me, that nothing ſhall extinguiſh the hopes I place in their *future* actions, but *unequivocal, damning proofs* from *themſelves*. For, without them I will never believe that, *external* nobleneſs of profeſſion conceals *latent* villany of principle! It is ſaid, *ogni medaglia ha il ſuo reverſo!* which if true, I hope in the lord we may never behold but the ſide which is now held to us!

A man, who has not examined the conduct of individuals for theſe ten or twenty yeart paſt, will be ſlow in the belief how principle of any

* *The event has proved how far the ſuppoſition was right; and how chriſtian like and generous the author was in his opinions.*

ſort

ſort has entered into the various and often contradictory conduct of many of our community; though the beſt of principles are made the oſtenſible motives. But, this is the unwilling tribute of vice to virtue, paid from a dread of the tribunal of the public. A tribunal which none but the moſt hardened wretch contemns. The conduct of *modern* patriots almoſt puts one out of conceit with patriotiſm. As the ſhameful and abandoned conduct of ſome *prieſts* have made men *atheiſts*. Patriotic virtue, as it conſiſts for the moſt part in *ſelf renunciation*, is felt too arduous and painful for men to endure who are weakened and enervated by a luxurious mode of life under a *corrupt government*. I am not, as ſome others are, aſtoniſhed at the irregularity of many men's conduct, and the ſeeming contradictions in their character, for, I have often ſeen thoſe effects produced by oppoſite vices contending for ſuperiority in the ſame mind. Wherever government chooſe to eſtabliſh any ſyſtem of injuſtice, or oppreſſion, they will if they enter warmly into it, ever find numbers ſolicitous to be tempted, and eager to be corrupted. Men whoſe vices outrun their means, and whoſe virtues do not amount to *ſelf-denial*. In ſuch people every freſh act of vice is made with leſs reluctance than the former. If one were to draw concluſions haſtily from a multiplicity of

 facts,

facts, we ſhould immediately ſuppoſe it in the *nature* of *Patriotiſm* to *decay*, whilſt ſelf-love and intereſt ſhould quicken into eternal verdure and ſtrength. The generality of men, now-a-day, have but little principle, and what they are moſt led by are, their *appetites* and *paſſions*. Where neither of theſe plead, there is little reliance to be placed on their promiſes. Some men aſſume *falſe characters* in order to attract public admiration, through vanity; whilſt others adopt a foreign maſk of virtues, in order to conceal and wear under it their own natural vices, with no view but to eſcape detection and cenſure. Theſe two claſſes ſeem to encreaſe of late, inſtead of diminiſhing.

When we ſee the poor, trifling, and mean offices, which men of rank and fortune accept of every day, one cannot ſuppreſs aſtoniſhment. It always brings to my recollection the young batchelor of arts, (in the Tatler,) who came to town with the hope of getting a *chaplain's place*, but being told none was vacant, *modeſtly* accepted of that of a *poſtillion*.

Vanity binds the youth of this nation in the chains of ignorance, and ſenſual luxury confines them in a ſtate of perpetual intoxication. If men had nicer feelings and a more lively ſenſe of reputation,

tation, it would inſpire them with greater firmneſs in their patriotiſm, higher fidelity to their engagements, and more diſintereſtedneſs in their conduct. Three things, the want of which is at preſent moſt ſeverely felt. There is a ſpecies of mock patriots, who cheat the unſuſpecting *public* of their *thanks*, without the wiſh to merit, or the intent to keep them. A ſet of men poſſeſſed of minds ſo weak and paſſions ſo ſtrong, that vice takes root, whilſt virtue withers. This is according to the laws of nature, which ordains that, what is fitted to the ſoil ſhould beſt take root. The ambition and avarice of thoſe men ſeem to be irritated by enjoyment, and the gratifications of thoſe paſſions, which in others act as remedies, ſerves only to increaſe their virulence: and their actions follow their intereſt as naturally as any other *effect* follows its cauſe.

In Edward the firſt's time, the members of the houſe of commons were *ordered* to receive full inſtructions, and come provided with ſufficient powers *from their conſtituents* to conſent in *their name* to what may be thought neceſſary for the ſtate, and required of them. Does not *this prove* the *original contract*, and ſhew that *repreſentatives* were inſtituted to convey their *conſtituents ſentiments*, not to give their own? and this to avoid the ill conſe-

quences of an aſſemblage of the conſtituents themſelves. Yet ſome men, in theſe times, are mightily offended at their *conſtituents aſſuming*, as they are pleaſed, in the *bathos* of their ignorance, to call it, to inſtruct or addreſs them. How can the *people* be ſaid to be *repreſented*, if what is totally contrary to their ſentiments and intereſts ſhall become the choice and favourite conduct of theſe men *called their* repreſentatives? Which is it moſt rational that, one man ſhall give up his opinion to perhaps two thouſand, or two thouſand men to the one? If you inſtruct them, they complain of your depriving them of *their own* free will and opinion; and perhaps, if you do not, from a thorough conviction of its inutility, there will be ſome amongſt the herd, ſo totally diveſted of ſhame in themſelves, and of the opinion of common ſenſe in you, that they will not heſitate at aſcribing all the barreneſs of their conduct to *their want of* inſtruction, gently uncovering their lighter faults, and burying their heavier crimes in ſilence, with the hope that, they may *rot* into *oblivion*.

The *doctrine* of *original* contract and truſt, our repreſentatives look on as an *impious blaſphemy*, highly injurious to their omnipotence and dignity. Yet, in general, they are ſo thoroughly convinced, that *intereſted* conduct in parliament proves ſo thorough

thorough a meanneſs of heart and bareneſs of mind that the moſt mercenary amongſt them endeavours to hide the deformity of his vice under all the ornaments of oratory, and the flowers of rhetoric. They attempt and ſtrive to gloſs over the flaws and defects of their conduct with *this ſtale court varniſh*, in order to confound and deceive the judgments of men. We are, ſay they, to watch over the intereſts of the whole community, not of the part alone which ſends us. But, I ſhall beg leave to anſwer that, by obſerving that, if every repreſentative takes care to convey the ſentiments of his *own conſtituents*, the ſentiments of the *community* will be, by thoſe means known, and the ſenſe of the majority muſt, as in reaſon, eſtabliſh the intereſt of the whole kingdom, which never can be the caſe, when men take upon them to *judge*, even allowing that they do it diſintereſtedly and impartially, for towns and counties, of whoſe real intereſt they know no more, than they do of that of the community at large. Thus, they endeavour to enjoy all the pleaſing advantages of vice, under the ornamental dreſs of virtue; turning their words to every purport but that of diſcovering their *own motives*, or their *real ſentiments*. There is a ſort of dignity in the impudence of p———t men, to which their conſtituents, however they may aſpire, will never, I hope, attain! For however infamous and mean

their

their conduct may have been, however and how often they may have betrayed the truſt you repoſed in them, yet will they not bluſh at talking to you of the immaculateneſs of their conduct and honour, requeſting at the ſame time, that you would repoſe your truſt and confidence in them once more.

The pleaſure a man feels in ſerving his country is only to be deſcribed by thoſe who have felt it. I know there are many men who ſhew a total indifference to it, as I believe they would to any other pleaſure which they had never felt, or that nature had unfitted them for the enjoyment of. Conſtitutional liberty is like connubial affection; to *preſerve* it, we muſt eſteem it. We have given ſtrong proofs of our eſteem for commercial liberty; how far we regard and reſpect our conſtitutional liberty remains yet to be proved. Hume ſays, of the Engliſh parliament, "It is remarkable, (meaning to their diſhonour) that parliament was always leſs jealous of their liberties than their properties." I hope we ſhall prove this not applicable to us*.

Many authors affirm, that it is the effect which actions have on ſociety that conſtitutes the rules of vice and virtue. Therefore, that conduct which

* *The event has proved the futility of the hope.*

tends

tends to promote the proſperity and happineſs of the ſociety in which we live, muſt be virtuous; and that conduct, which has in view the weakening of the conſtitutional powers of the ſtate, the corruption of the principles of the people, and the total extinction of the ſpirit of freedom and patriotiſm, cannot but be vicious in a high degree!

The blind inſtinct of a fool may do more ſervice to his country than the abilities of a F—ſt—r, when he dare not make uſe of them. The firſt may do ſome good, and if he errs can do as little harm as a lord G—— G——n; but the latter, if he become corrupt, may bring as many dreadful misfortunes on a kingdom as a lord George Germaine. For, ſuperiority of parts is either a great bleſſing, or a greater curſe; productive of great good, or ſuperior evil.

The people never ſee their favorites faults 'till they have by their own actions diſſolved the enchanted miſt, with which they have been ſurrounded. A few words, of a certain kind, pronounced in a certain houſe have the effects of an incantation; and a few words of another ſort, in the ſame place, diſpel the charm. The worſt of it is, the pleaſing enchantment ſeldom laſts long.

We

We can perceive a ſtronger affinity and connection between the palms of the hands, the ears, and the tongues of parliament men, than between any other parts of their frame. I leave this to anatomiſts and naturaliſts to account for. Theſe men, you will ever find *ſacrifice* their conſtituents' happineſs to their own private wants, rather than *conſecrate* it, as they ſhould do, to their care and attention. But, *this* they think they ſhall expiate before that worldly day of judgment, the day of election, by a haſty repentance in the hour of their diſſolution, and compenſate for their many bad works by a few idle ceremonies, ſtriving to bury all reflection and thought of the paſt, under a weight of promiſes for the future. Men, who are known to want principle by thoſe who truſt them, though they ſhould promiſe, yet if they betray, they can properly be ſtiled only faithleſs; but if they be eſteemed honourable and faithful, and receive truſt as ſuch, whether they promiſe or not, if they betray, they may ſafely be declared *treacherous*. To betray or give up any thing, which has been depoſited with us in truſt, has ever been looked upon as baſeneſs inſeparably united with treachery; and, though there may have been no truſt expreſſed, there is always one virtually implied; and, it cannot be otherwiſe, where there is a choice made of one man in preference to many others.

others. There are ſome fixed principles of honour and juſtice, that a deviation from cannot be juſtified by any change in external circumſtances. The ſervice of one's country is the higheſt of all moral duties. A duty, from which nothing can diſcharge one. The greater one's powers and means, the ſtronger your duties, the higher your obligations! He, who has been openly convicted of the ingratitude of betraying his conſtituents and injuring his country, may be reaſonably looked on as *incurably corrupted*, and like the leper, ſhould for the benefit of ſociety become an immediate outcaſt. He may be ſaid to have done his beſt, or rather worſt, to deſtroy confidence, and interrupt the neceſſary and mutual affection which ſhould ſubſiſt between all conſtituents and their repreſentatives.

If we loſe our *liberties*, it will be by the act of a ſet of puppets, mere wood and wire; who, although they have eyes, muſt not make uſe of them; hearts, that muſt not feel; minds, which if they can reflect, dare not ſhew it; and tongues, which though they muſt ſpeak the ſentiments of *others*, dare not declare their *own*. Swift ſays, "there is no quality ſo contrary to any nature, which men cannot *affect*, and put on upon occaſion in order to ſerve an intereſt, or gratify a prevailing paſſion." The

unexperienced innocent expects to find honor in every boſom, and truth on every tongue; and his virtuous credulity only ceaſes in proportion as his experience increaſes.

How few of the ſentiments, with which *young men* enter a *certain houſe*, ever ripen into a maturity of principle. Some curſed blaſt ſent by the miniſters of hell, one ſhould think by the effects, either checks them in their bloſſom, or deſtroys them in the bud. They ſhould reflect that the man who is capable of reſigning his will and liberty to another, is virtually ſpeaking guilty of every meanneſs and crime that he is liable to be ſentenced to, from the want of that liberty and will, which he ſo vilely ſurrendered. It is a want of *honor* which no *honeſt man* will be ever guilty of; though we too often ſee *diſhoneſt* actions committed by *honourable men*: For your honourable men do not in all caſes hold themſelves amenable to the rules of honeſty, though an honeſt man conſiders himſelf always bound by the laws of honor. There is a true and noble ambition, which conſiſts in endeavouring to gain the affections of our fellow ſubjects and the applauſe of the community in which we live; this is greatneſs of ſoul, and produces noble actions; there is a falſe ambition, of which I ſhall only ſay, that, as it is the effect, it is but too often the cauſe of meanneſs.

Go

Go into the *houſe* and behold our young ſenators, how triflingly they are on what is ſerious. Behold theſe ſame ſenators out of the houſe, at a ball or drum, and how wonderfully ſerious they become on every trifle. Let the habeas corpus act be reading, how they laugh, or whiſper, or yawn. Let ſome woman deſcribe the ill ſtate of health of her lap-dog, how ſerious, ſorrowful, and grave they become! Now I am on this ſubject, I ſhall beg leave to ſay, that I ſeldom have been in a certain houſe but that a paſſage in La Bruyere ſtruck me in a moſt forcible manner, where he ſays, "It is a ſad thing when men have neither ſenſe enough to ſpeak well, nor judgment enough to hold their tongues; this, ſays he, is the foundation of all impertinent nonſenſe." What from folly, inattention, and depravity of heart, there are few repreſentatives ſo *chaſte* in their conduct, as not to give their conſtituents cauſe, once at leaſt in every ſeſſion, to repent of their choice. There ſhould be a *ſacred league* of *octennial friendſhip* between the *people* and their *repreſentatives*, from which diſtruſt ſhould be baniſhed, and every *breach* of *faith* looked on as an *act* of *perfidy*. A principle of honour ſhould make men covetous of the good opinion of their conſtituents, and tranſported with the voluntary applauſe of a *free* people. But thoſe who are deſtitute of honor and virtue can only have as incite-

ments to their actions the *conveniencies*, or *luxuries* of life. A ſordid covetouſneſs of wealth and honors, and a total diſregard to virtue and fame, are almoſt always united. 'Tis this union leads men to ſuch infamous duplicity of conduct, and ſuch an accumulation of vice and treachery. Regardleſs of the reproaches of their conſtituents, whom they have deceived and duped, they riot in the hire of proſtitution! Thoſe men have hearts which feel not the *real, public miſeries* of the *people*; it is their own *private, factitious wants* which engage their feelings and attention. Men ſhould wear the *uniform* of *virtue*, though they were not of its *corps*; and though they were *mercenaries* in their hearts, they ſhould aſſume the noble appearance of *volunteers*. For all men ſhould preſerve an *external* decorum and reſpect, for the ſake of ſociety, and aſſume the *ſemblance* of *virtue*, though internally the reality were wanting. A breach of faith, or engagements towards one's private friend; a deſertion from his cauſe, or any change of ſentiment in regard to him, are held by all men in deteſtation: Yet ſuch is the *ſanction* men aſſume from *cuſtom*, that a total breach of all theſe duties to one's country, and to the community in general, in which our families and friends ſtand included, is held as nought and publicly avowed. Through ſuch different mediums, and in ſuch different lights

lights are actions equally bad and vicious beheld in! One ſhould imagine that, nothing leſs than a conflux of the worſt vices incident to human nature, could fit a man for the crime of *aſſaſſinating* the *infantile liberties* of his *country*. Would they were endued with the powers of Hercules to ſtrangle ſuch ſerpents in the act! The ſtrongeſt obligations prove but weak ſecurity for the friendſhip of minds accuſtomed to ſordid infidelity. Self-intereſted avarice, and diſintereſted patriotiſm never lodged *together* in a human breaſt. As the former ſtains and deluges the human heart, the beauty of the latter becomes effaced, and its ſpirit extinguiſhed. Though we often behold poverty united with riches, avarice blended with luxury, and meanneſs mixed with pride. A *placeman* muſt be a very ſound moraliſt, who upon *any* occaſion will give up his *own intereſt* for that of his country. When *penſions* and *places* are coveted as inſtruments of pride and ſenſuality, ſelfiſhneſs engroſſes the ſoul, and ſilently eradicates every ſocial virtue! And we may ſafely affirm, that men in thoſe circumſtances refrain from robbery and other leſs dangerous crimes, more from *dread* of *puniſhment* than *love* of *virtue*. De Lolme ſays, "In theſe days, when gold is become the great moving ſpring of affairs, it may be ſafely affirmed, that he who depends on the will of others, with regard to ſo important

important an article, is, whatever his power may be in other reſpects, in a ſtate of real dependence." This is pretty clear and deciſive in regard to thoſe who accept of places and penſions from government, as well as thoſe who ſeek for them, and men who ſtand in need of them. Theſe are three claſſes of men, in my opinion, very unfit to repreſent counties; however they may boroughs. For in a contention between a man's love for himſelf, and his love for his country, it is natural that the moſt powerful ſhould prevail; which makes me of lord Cheſterfield's opinion, that one ſhould never truſt a man, when his favourite paſſion is concerned, though he promiſes e'er ſo much.

I, really, am often led to imagine, that ſome old practitioners of deceit, amongſt my acquaintance, are ſometimes gradually reduced to a belief of their poſſeſſing certain virtues, inſtead of their oppoſite vices, from the length of time which they have publicly aſſerted their right to, and openly claimed poſſeſſion of them; a right, which has never been *boldly* contradicted but by their *own actions*; a poſſeſſion which has been moſt ſtrongly doubted by them who know them beſt. Their friends ſhould admoniſh them in ſecret, for as much private mortification as they undergo, ſo much of public ſhame it may be the means of their eſcaping.

That

That men of *property* ſhould wiſh for a *Rebellion*, and therefore now aſſert the *rights* of the *people only* from that idea, as ſome of the *hirelings* of *government* would *wiſh* to have *believed*, though it certainly increaſes the ſcandal of the ſtory, yet it muſt ever diminiſh its credibility. Its not being an article of faith, the abſurdity of it can never increaſe the merit of its belief, except with a particular *ſect*, who in general are not looked upon as quite orthodox. *I*, for one, cannot for the life of me ſay, as the pious St. Auſtin did, "*Credo quia impoſſibile eſt.*" This is only worthy of the hypocritical devotees and *converts* of government. As this is a charge contrary to the eſtabliſhed rules of *common ſenſe*, thoſe who make the accuſation think themſelves *thereby* freed from all the rules of common ſenſe in their arguments in ſupport of it; whilſt others of them endeavour to frighten men of *property* from eſpouſing the cauſe of liberty, by telling them the conſequences will be *Rebellion*."

Is it not poſſible for *our* parliament, *once in an age*, to aſſert the rights of the ſubject, without a rebellion? When the parliaments of England have ſo often, and ſo ſucceſsfully attempted it for theſe many centuries. Is oppoſition a plant ſo peculiarly adapted to the ſoil of England, (like rebellion in Scotland,) as, in its effects to be ſalutary there, but

but baneful in any other clime? When thoſe men cannot *impoſe* their *fallacious doctrines* on you, they then endeavour to hinder you from thoroughly diſcerning the truth of *your own.* They are known often to aſſume the old and well known habit of love of *order* and tranquillity, and wrapping themſelves up in the mantle of peace, *ſtab* their *country* to the *heart,* and retire loaded with the *honours* of *their king,* and the *plunder* of the public! I will try *ſuch wretches* before the general tribunal of mankind. If they 'ſcape me there, I ſhall appeal to the bed of *death,* where their conſciences ſhall turn *accuſers,* and *ſelf-condemned,* they ſhall be handed over to the unerring juſtice of their *God!* And *poſterity* ſhall inflict that puniſhment on their *memories,* which their arts and *influence,* in this world, evaded!

They all verbally deny theſe characters, and aſſume that of *lovers* of *their country,* for, " *artis eſt celare artem*;" but let them be ſilently obſerved, and they will practically contradict their verbal aſſeverations. It ſhall be my office to ſtrip them of thoſe plumes, in which their own pride and the miſled ignorance of others have decked them, and then expoſe them to an injured and inſulting public in all the deformity of their natural nakedneſs! And, perhaps, they will never feel the value of their reputation ſo much as in thoſe moments of its

its loſs. There are few parts of ſuch man's conduct, which can admit of an apology, and there are none which merits applauſe.

There are a ſet of men in this kingdom who, by occupation, are no better than merchants of *human fleſh*. Who by petty ſelf-intereſted arts, worſe than foreſtalling and engroſing, raiſe or lower the *caſtle market*. And eſteem themſelves of conſequence, only according to the number of well *pampered two legged brutes* they can lead by the noſe to ſale. I am not ſurpriſed at *Caligula's horſe* being made a conſul, when ſuch *beaſts* of *burden* are made S—n—t—rs! We may laugh, but poſterity may laugh too! I pity their children, whoſe only faults, perhaps, may be their deſcent from them. I hope their innocence will obtain them ſhelter under the *juſtice* of mankind, and that the *crimes* of their *fathers* will not be viſited on them in *this world*, though their *ſins* may be in the next.

Thoſe men have acquired a power of corrupting the minds, and poiſoning the morals of all thoſe with whom they have any connection. If this power be not checked and counteracted by proper antidotes, the ſtate will ſoon have as little *conſtitution* to loſe, as its individuals will have vir-

tue to attempt it's cure. A few of thoſe *empiricks* is all *government* ever requires for inflicting the moſt *malignant national diſorders*, that ever a *brave* and *free people* were known to lie down and ſuffer under with *patience*. A *patience* hardly diſtinguiſhable from deſpondence! The *courtiers*, of whom I have been ſpeaking, have reduced their *baſeneſs* to a *ſyſtem*. They do not diſguiſe, or even palliate it; but, endeavour to defend it with all the ſtrength of argument the weakneſs of their minds can afford. It becomes the principle of their deliberate choice; a *doctrine*, which they not only avow, but preach and propagate, with a view of gaining *proſylites*. For tho', in principle and *action* they are beggars, they are *prodigal* in ſpeech! To write againſt thoſe vile miſſionaries, in defence of *holy truth* and *ſacred liberty*, is called by them, "*ſpreading deluſion*." To diſſeminate a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings of a *free government* and the *rights* of the *people*, is termed "*ſowing* of *ſedition*. Shall *ſuch men* have power to vend *poiſons*, and *I* not the permiſſion to beſtow either *cordials* or *antidotes*? Whether this conduct be the effect of *natural ignorance* or *wilful depravity*, I leave to the public to determine. If, of the former, it merits our pity; if, of the latter, our *contempt* and *indignation*! Formerly, *profligacy* was thought to be wound up to the higheſt pitch human nature could bear, when

when it *voluntarily* took off the maſk, and with *open ſhameleſs countenance* expoſed the character of vice, wantonly priding itſelf on what it ſhould be moſt aſhamed. Theſe are the *minions* of every ſucceſſive vice-roy; handed over, like the *harlots* of an *Eaſtern ſeraglio*, from ſucceſſor to ſucceſſor. Profligate in principle, and doubly ſo in conduct.

What ſhall we think of another ſet of men, who, with all the *falſe affection* and *real ſelf-intereſt* of thoſe who aſſume the *maſk* of *patriotiſm* for their private emolument, would induce by public oratorical precept the very reverſe of what they teach by private example? Call you not this *courtly impudence!*

It was the *Devil*, who *firſt* led man aſtray, corrupted his morals, and aſſuming a falſe character, made him embrace his intereſt inſtead of his own, and ſacrifice the *future intereſts* and *happineſs* of his *poſterity* to the *immediate gratifications* of *ſelf*.

There are now more *Devils* than one, or we find many *true copies* of that ancient great *original*. Thoſe who ſupport ſuch *characters*, their *prejudices* or *intereſts* muſt be as *great*, as their *ſpirit* and *candour* muſt be *little*. If ſuch men ever *ſhine*, it

will be like ſtale fiſh, more owing to *inherent putridity*, than any good quality! The inward ſenſe of unworthineſs ſhould correct the pride of momentary proſperity. Thoſe who have any communication with them ſhould be informed, that they are *moſt* to be *dreaded* when they *ſmile*; and *leaſt* to be *relied on* when they *promiſe*.

As many of your true courtiers have never been able to trace any feelings of patriotiſm in their own breaſts, many of them ſhew by their converſation, a diſbelief of its exiſtence; ſtriving to caſt a ridicule on all thoſe who avow it; which only ſhews, how vain it is to endeavour to perſuade an old confirmed *rogue* that you are a diſintereſted and honeſt man. Thoſe mens' friends ſhould be aſhamed of loving them, when they have voluntarily rendered themſelves unworthy of their eſteem. We eaſily pardon thoſe faults in others to which we are much addicted ourſelves; and would willingly depreciate thoſe bleſſings of which we are deprived. Thus the courtier will ever defend the *betrayer* of his *country*, and treat the affection of the people with all the inſolence of contempt. The praiſes of ſuch men I look on as reproach; and their reproaches as the higheſt praiſe. Their conſciences are as little accuſtomed to pangs, as their faces to a bluſh; they

they have ſouls which cannot feel for the miſeries of any but themſelves, they are too much occupied and devoted to their own purpoſes to ſpare even a ſigh or wiſh to others. From a miſtaken idea of magnanimity they ſet themſelves above the opinions of the people, and ſcornfully look down upon their praiſe and cenſure; and not content with enjoying the ſilent and ſecret benefits of this mode of thinking, they openly and clamorouſly *diſplay* it in every public action, where it can coaleſce with their intereſt. Little ſolicitous in their actions about what is virtuous and honeſt, but ſtudiouſly attentive to what is pleaſant and agreeable. An indifference, amounting to a ſpecies of ſcorn, for what one's fellow ſubjects and countrymen think of us, ariſes either from a moſt vicious and ſhameful profligacy of conduct, or will in the end moſt certainly give riſe to it.

It is vain to endeavour to entice men bred up and tutored in the ſchool of vice and corruption, to prefer popular applauſe to profit and honors, and to renounce luxury for liberty: Yet, like Phæton's attempt, tho' it prove unſucceſsful, it is glorious! For, men who paſs their time amongſt women, in a ſpecies of nurſery for luxury, inſenſibly contract a timidity and irreſolution; their

their deſires are wavering and often inconſiſtent, generally counteracting each other, and rendering the poſſeſſor *unentitled* to *confidence*, but highly *worthy* of *contempt*. Theſe men, when they purſue the intereſt of their *country*, it is with the unſteadineſs and fickleneſs, and irreſolution of children. And it is not unuſual with them to give up the ſtruggle, when they have *moſt reaſon* to *hope*, and *leaſt* to *fear*.

'Tis ſomewhat barefaced to ſee profeſſed courtiers, placemen, and penſioners, who have ever ſtood ready with the bow-ſtring, at the command of government to *ſtrangle* the *political* or *commercial liberties* of their country; men remarkably deſtitute of all private virtues, diſpute with the favourites of the people, lay claim to, and aſſume the airs of public-ſpirit. And, though ſome of them have been notorious for never having had the friendſhip which they ought for any one perſon, yet are not thoſe aſhamed oſtentatiouſly to profeſs a *diſintereſted* affection and friendſhip for three millions. But, a bad heart will at any time govern and betray the beſt of heads; for though men reaſon from the latter, it is from the former they generally act.

I ſhall now make a few obſervations on candidates and elections, with a hope that they may be of ſome future uſe.

Oaths

Oaths and promiſes are the common modes of our preſent electioneering. And, it has been ever obſerved, that *he* who makes them with the *greateſt facility*, generally breaks them with the *moſt eaſe*. *Candidates* on *Elections* flatter every man; but it is to gain their own ends. They will *promiſe* any mode of conduct, with a view to acquire *confidence*, and perhaps with a certain and fixed reſolution to *betray* and *abuſe* it. And though they promiſe, and ſwear, and bind themſelves by voluntary treaty in a public paper; yet have they, like the ancient Priſcillianiſts, ſuch a *pliability* of *conſcience*, that the moment the obligation begins to *preſs* and *bind* them, it inſtantly twiſts and wriggles them out. And from *experience* it is found that there is no bond can bind them, but that of ſelf-intereſt. They put me in mind of ſome of our very faſhionable ſongs, where there is very fine *ſound*, but no *ſentiment*. Lord Cheſterfield ſaid, he had been too long acquainted with human nature to place much confidence in human affirmations. I fear he knew mankind too well. What reliance ſhould the *people* place on the promiſes of men, whoſe happineſs is attached to riches and honors; and *their attainment* to the *breach* of thoſe *promiſes?* They ſhould always dread men who accuſtom themſelves to fraud, even in things of ſmall conſequence, and be impreſſed

preſſed with the idea, that it is but *opportunity* ſuch men want to practice it in matters of higher moment. Where men have already been proved to have broken the bands of *gratitude* and *truſt*, which have ever been held ſacred by juſt and generous minds, and where former confidence and kindneſs could not inſure fidelity, why wantonly truſt them, and give them a *freſh* opportunity to renew their former acts of perfidy? I wiſh this were true,

"The wretch that often has deceived,
"Tho' truth he ſpeaks, is ne'er believed."

But I believe it is rather, "Fere libenter homines id quod volunt *credunt*."

When people's imaginations become heated to ſuch a degree, as to become impreſſed with ideas repugnant to univerſal experience, and contrary to the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct proofs of uncontrovertible facts, reaſon if it does not totally reject, becomes at leaſt ſtrongly impreſſed with doubt. Knowledge of mankind ſhould overcome the ſtrength of human aſſeveration, for nothing leſs than the blindneſs of ignorance, or the falſe lights of enthuſiaſm can make man deliver himſelf up to ſuch *common deluſion*. But, I have always remarked, that the public *forget* and *forgive* offences much more readily than individuals.

Many

Many people are apt to blame the *vaſſals* of certain *great chiefs* for their parliamentary conduct, and impute our misfortunes to them. In my mind with little reaſon or juſtice.

Theſe men are blindly led away,
And *made* to act for *ends unknown*,
By the meer ſpring of wires they play,
And ſpeak in language *not their own.*

As well may they blame the wooden men of a back-gammon table for the loſs of the game or their money; or throw the faults of grammar and diction, at a puppet-ſhew, on the maker of the puppets. From this *warm* and *juſt* defence of a worthy, injured ſet of men, perhaps, I ſhall be looked on as one of the *corps*; and all I may ſay would very likely only tend to convince people the more ſtrongly. For this reaſon I ſhall drop all further defence of them and myſelf, and ſpare all aſſeverations on the ſubject.

England ſhould beware! the meaſure of oppreſſion has been long full, and the *blood* of *three millions* of their *friends* muſt make it overflow, and ſteep themſelves in the bitter waters of ſorrow. *Benevolence in the hour of inſolence is better than repentance in the moment of impotence!* We are threatened with ruin and deſolation as neceſſary conſequences to reſiſtance. To deſtroy and deface what we

cannot poſſeſs or enjoy, is the attribute and darling paſſion of devils only! And, though our *coaſts* were to exhibit but one unvaried ſcene of *ruin* and *conflagration*, I have this good opinion of my countrymen, that they would eſteem it a *ſacrifice*, as noble as it was great, made to the *freedom* and *independence* of their *country*; and ſecure from the inſults of oppreſſion and tyranny in their internal retirements, would find ample conſolation in the ſilent ſelf-approbation of their own conſciences, the generous applauſe of mankind, and the expectation of future bleſſings from their poſterity, and rather than ſubmit to the uſurped powers and tyranny of any government, would appeal and revert, if neceſſary, to the more virtuous laws of nature.

Government finding it in vain to attempt to *corrupt* the *ſtream* of *popular integrity*, now endeavours to *poiſon* a *few* of the *ſprings*, in order to enfeeble and keep down the health and vigour of our *reviving conſtitution*.

When government acts benevolently to a people, they will have the body of that people for them; they need not deſcend to the *trouble* and *meanneſs* of *careſſing* and *corrupting individuals*. But when their motives are unjuſt, ungenerous, and tending

to

to the deſtruction of the freedom of the conſtitution, and liberty of the ſubject, if the body of the people be not radically corrupted, they muſt endeavour to *lop off* different MEMBERS, if thoſe MEMBERS be not *rotten enough* to *fall off of themſelves*. Thoſe are modern miniſterial contrivances, which appear but as groſs artifices tending more to betray premeditated guilt, than to prove the juſtice of virtuous intentions. Government in gratifying its *preſent paſſion* for *controul*, imagines it provides ſecurely againſt its *future fears*.

The *poiſoned chalice* of *corruption* is adminiſtering to our *S—n—te*. Happy theſe whoſe *virtues* will act as *antidotes!* And thrice miſerable thoſe, whoſe weakneſs of mind, luxurioufneſs of life, or vanity of diſpoſition ſhall aid its effects, and eſtabliſh its virulence! Though they will ſoon eſcape the hatred of the nation, they will be ſo thoroughly deſpiſed, for as the latter ſentiment increaſes, the former generally ſubſides.

Any one at this period, who can deviſe a *temporary* mode to patch and ſolder up, for a *ſhort ſpace* of *time*, the flaws, cracks, and breaches of our conſtitution, will receive a higher reward, and greater honors, than ever government has given,

as yet, to any man from the days of Marlborough to the preſent time.

Government has on opening *this campaign* erected its ſtandard, and *divide et impera* is its device. Let the grand banner of the people be diſplayed, and *tales animæ concordes* be the motto.

This much I will in *juſtice* be bold to ſay, that it was in the *boſoms* of the *volunteers* of this kingdom, that the *ſacred ſpark* of *liberty* was firſt *kindled*, *took fire*, and has been *preſerved*. And, if we obtain a glorious permanent freedom for our conſtitution, it is to them *alone* we owe it. I know it will ere long be courtly and faſhionable to decry them; and all thoſe whom government can ſeduce will take the firſt opportunity to withdraw themſelves, in order to diſcredit and caſt an odium on the body. The inſtitution of a militia was attempted with no other intent and purport, and, from the numbers who embraced and patronized it, though they afterwards moſt *haſtily* forſook it, and *Peter-like*, denied it, and that ſomewhat oftener than thrice, we may form a judgment of how agreeable it would be to many. A *militia* had been our conſtant requeſt, and we had been as conſtantly denied. And though the ſentiments of the nation were ſo ſtrongly for it, as to have it

paſſed

paſſed into a law, yet the k—g's miniſters availed themſelves of the prerogative, and refuſed to call it forth and array it. Thus rendering the *acts* and *conduct* of *our parliament weak*, *nugatory*, and *ridiculous*. Our *military aſſociations* are the *key-ſtone* to our *liberties*. If they be ſhaken, our *commercial liberty* will *totter*. If they be totally removed, our *conſtitutional* and *commercial liberties* will *fall* to the *ground!* Let us therefore repair all breaches in time, and if neceſſary, let us *cement* them with our *blood!* It will be a noble offering, as perhaps it will ſave a profuſion of the blood of our children. If our aſſociations be once given up, or deſtroyed, *ſpes et fortuna valete!* We ſhould preſerve them in their hitherto noble purity. We ſhould make their commands objects of deſirable honor, and a diſmiſſion from their ſervice, as the higheſt ignominy. The enemies of our country, I ſhould wiſh to ſee diſmiſſed from its ſervice. This may have great effect; for I have known ſome ſtand appalled at infamy, who were not to be ſwayed or frightened by conſcience. Where *reaſon* has been *often overcome*, *ſhame* will *ſometimes conquer!* We have beheld ſome good reformation from people's *pride*, where nothing could be expected from their *principles*. A man when he is conſcious that his character will not bear ſtrict inveſtigation, will endeavour not to attract the public attention.

This

This mode of conduct will render the great and inſolent more cautious, and the penſioned profligate more modeſt. Where will the robbers of the public find ſanctuary, what place will then ſhelter the pimps and panders of a corrupt and proſtitute adminiſtration?

It is hard, that the *advocates* of the *people* ſhould receive the appellation of *incendiaries*, and the *friends* of the *conſtitution* be looked on as *enemies* to *government*; that the *ſpirit* of *liberty* ſhould be regarded as a *ſpirit* of *party*; and the *prayers* of the *nation*, as the *clamours* of a *faction*. But, thank Heaven! Liberty is neither in itſelf *misfeatured*, *diſcoloured*, nor *diſtorted*, though it may appear ſo to *diſordered imaginations*, or *diſtempered eyes*.

Let us, O! my countrymen! be governed by *calm*, *ſteady*, *rational* and *perſevering reſolution*; not ſwayed by *overbearing*, *brutal violence*, ſo often to be found in the common foot ſoldier, and ſo rarely to be met in the man of *ſenſe* and *honor*. Let us be *ſuaviter in modo*, *fortiter in re!* Let us avoid the *oſtentatious diſplay* of *unneceſſary violence* and *inſult*, and not act like drunken rioters at a bagnio! Let us ſupport the morals and police of ſociety by cleanſing and reforming the *Houſe*, and not tear down the *fabric*, perhaps, to involve *friends* and

and *foes*, the *innocent* and *guilty*, in one *unjuſt* but *common ruin*. And, though we may be foiled this time, let us ſtill *hope!* The *extinction* of it may at preſent, as it generally has been, be *dreadful* in its *conſequences*; for, from the *extinction* of *hope* ſprings *deſpair*. And this, I ſuppoſe, of all the *principles* which actuate the *human breaſt*, muſt be the *leaſt favorable* to an *oppreſſive government*. Let the prudence of our *adminiſtration beware* of *this extreme!*

Let no man, in what I have here written, copy after the man in the *ſpectator*, who was ſo quick in his *applications*, that he knew how to find a *double edge* in an *invective*, and to draw a *ſatire* on *himſelf* out of a *panegyric* on another.

A man who writes from true motives of *diſintereſted love* for the *country* in which he was born and bred, and from which he and his anceſtors have ever received an ample patrimony, with an intention alone to *eſtabliſh* the happineſs of his *friends* and *country* upon a *firm* and *laſting foundation*, though he ſhould unintentionally, and I may ſay *virtuouſly err*, ſurely it will not require ſtrong exertions of *angelic benevolence* in either k—g or government to pity, and as they pity—*forgive!*

If

If a man beſtows the labour of his underſtanding, with all the force of his actions, to the benefit of his country, tho' he fail and be obliged to retire, happy in the applauſe of his own conſcience, and filled with an inward ſenſe of honor, his mind is ſoothed, not agitated, and he bears the ſhocks of fate with calm, heroic fortitude.

VASA.

Fortunæ cætera mando!

P. S. As the queſtion of obtaining a mutiny act, for the regulation of the army in this kingdom, ſeems now to agitate the minds and attract the attention of the people of this country, I ſhall beg leave to ſay a few words on that ſubject; the ideas which ſtrike me, I ſhall endeavour to condenſe into as ſmall a compaſs as my ingenuity can deviſe.

In my opinion, government ſeems to wiſh to make this bill a compliment *from* them, which their neceſſities muſt make an object of the greateſt import and utmoſt conſequence *to* them. For, were the antiminiſterialiſts to oppoſe the reception of ſuch an act in this kingdom, into what ſtreights

ſtreights would they not drive the *miniſtry?* What muſt be the apparent glaring conſequences? — Would it not become an object worthy of the exertion of every attention of the miniſtry, of every promiſe of the viceroy, of every guinea in their nearly exhauſted and almoſt bankrupt treaſury to obtain a majority to paſs this bill. For, what would be the conſequences were they to be defeated in it? Their regiments may either individually, or in the aggregate body, lay down their arms and retire from the ſervice. I will not call it *deſertion*, for it would not anſwer the definition of that word: There being an expiration and diſſolution of all ties and engagements by which they were bound, and being in that moment virtually and expreſsly *free men*. And give me leave to aſk the moſt corrupt advocate for the Iriſh adminiſtration and Engliſh laws, how and in what mode and manner they could puniſh theſe men? were they to ſeize on them with the lawleſs hand of ſtrength and ruthleſs power, and be with-held by motives ariſing from ſound reaſon, calm reflection, and juſt preſcience, from inflicting any corporal puniſhment on them, yet would not their forceable detention of them be a deprivation of their liberty, and virtually a corporal impriſonment? Would not an action for falſe impriſonment lie againſt them? Would any lawyer incur the public contempt, or the virtuous

indignation of his brethren for any diſhonourable, paltry fee he may receive? Will any Jury (that firm fortreſs of our freedom!) liſten to judge or lawyer, who can be baſely avaricious and paracidal enough to ſell and *ſtab* at the rights of their country? No! there is a ſpirit of honour in this nation too great to be bought, too high to be intimidated! but ſuppoſing any military men were unwiſe, raſh and imprudent enough to inflict any corporal puniſhment on one of thoſe *legally liberated* men, is there any private fortune, or any ſupport that a conſumptive treaſury could beſtow, that could ſtand againſt the damages given by an inſulted, virtuous, and injured community, *repreſented*, at that moment, by a ſelect delegation of men, under the glorious denomination of a *jury*? Is there a man of any principle in the houſe of c——ns that has not premeditatedly, or haſtily pledged himſelf, I may ſay, at the very altar of the people, in the very temple of honor, to OPPOSE *all* and *every act*, but the *acts* of an IRISH LEGISLATURE? How will the poor caſuiſtry and mean quibbling ſubtlety of the *greateſt attorney* in this kingdom, wriggle any man out of this voluntary engagement? Have not the greateſt characters in this nation pledged themſelves in that temple of honor to oppoſe all Britiſh acts, not only as ſenators, but conſervators of the peace, and as jurymen;

men; and in all other ſituations in which fortune ſhall hereafter place them. This, I will ſay, with virtuous boldneſs, is a great, bright, and glorious example, held forth to the people at large. For no conduct can be erroneous, where the actions of the people coincide with the opinions, and are ſanctified by the example of their rulers and repreſentatives. Neither grandeur of birth, nor poorneſs of underſtanding; neither exuberant warmth of heart, nor barren frigidity of intellect; no, not the great good will, nor the little judgment of any man, ſhall entitle him to the pity or indulgence of a much injured and inſulted community! not the *private* virtues of a L——r or a Foſt-r, nor the well meaning weakneſs of a C——y ſhall ever palliate a vicious public conduct, or an obſtinate headſtrong oppoſition to the enfranchiſement of a virtuous but unhappy people.

How is the army to be recruited if the magiſtrate refuſe to atteſt the recruit? for he is not bound, nor a ſoldier, though he receive the money, 'till he be atteſted. And, no *Iriſh magiſtrate* will atteſt from the *dictates* of an *Engliſh act*.

Nothing but a harmony and union, ariſing from a well concerted combination of the parts, ſo as that they may act in concert to one general point, can preſerve this country. England has ſet the example,

example, let us follow it. Let us *aſſociate* to a general purport.

But in this heat and tumult of mens' minds, things more important to our *rights* ſeem to fade and die away. Let me aſk our repreſentatives, what has become of the *judges bill?* what has been done with the *habeas corpus act?* are we to renounce our *rights* in ſtriving to deprive others of theirs; and by endeavouring *legally* to make *fourteen thouſand ſlaves*, to forget the claims of *three millions of our countrymen?*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

P. 15. Line 5, for *a sa*, read as a.
22. 8, for *liberty*, read liberty.
27. 14, for *tools*, read idols.
35. 14, for *gratifications*, read gratification.
36. 18, for *barreneſs*, read baſeneſs.
37. 1, for *bareneſs*, read baſeneſs.
46. 24, for *them*, read thoſe.
47. 17, a full ſtop after *it*, inſtead of a ſemicolon. (;)
49. 1, for *man's*, read men's.
7, for *engroſing*, read engroſſing.

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